



The Life and Work of Eduardt Abrahamsz de Moor, a Gunmaker in Seventeenth-Century Utrecht

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The two guns that your Excellency ordered were made in the same way and manner as the first one from Utrecht for his Excellency Svante Banér, the man who made them was a moor, and shall be paid for it', wrote Peter Trotzig (1613-1697), a Swedish broker in Amsterdam, in 1655. Addressed to the Swedish marshal Carl Gustaf Wrangel (1613-1676), a prominent weapons collector on whose behalf Trotzig had commissioned these objects, his letter also referred to a gun previously made for Banér (1583-1628), a Swedish nobleman, diplomat and the governor of Riga.¹ Nowadays, guns are primarily regarded by many as instruments that perpetuate violence and oppression; in the seventeenth century, however, they also represented the pinnacle of craftsmanship and luxury. Wealthy collectors throughout Europe acquired Dutch firearms as artworks.² Wrangel's guns bear the inscription 'EDVARDT. ABRAHAMS // DE.MOOR, TOT. VTRICHT'.

Four guns bearing similar signatures of 'Eduardt' are known to survive today: three, including the

< Fig. 1a
EDUARDT
ABRAHAMSZ
DE MOOR, *Rifle*,
c. 1665.
Iron, wood and brass,
length 109.5 cm;
detail of the lock-
plate.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
NG-2002-23-17,
purchased from
the H.L. Visser
Collection, with the
support of the Prins
Bernhard Cultuur-
fonds, the Ministry of
Education, Culture
and Science, the
Ministry of Defence,
the vsvfonds, the
BankGiro Lottery and
the Rijksmuseum
Fonds.

two guns for Wrangel, are held in Swedish collections, with a fourth, highly ornamented flintlock gun preserved in the Rijksmuseum collection (figs. 1a-d).³ Made of heavy iron and walnut and covered in engraved detail, the Rijksmuseum gun was as decorative as it was functional: on one side of the butt, a deer references hunting, while on the other, a more elusive Melusine – a Sphinx-like creature with a sea monster's tail instead of a lion's body – sits amidst brass tendrils of vines and flowers that wind their way onto the barrel (figs. 1c, d). A waving banner emblazoned on the lockplate bears Eduardt's hallmark signature (fig. 1a). Beneath the plate is the iron lock, whose components needed to be precisely crafted to ensure the gun functioned properly. Many hands participated in crafting and assembling the gun. While it remains unclear who ultimately had the right to sign the firearm, the engraved name likely refers to a senior or master craftsman. By 1650, high-quality firearms produced in the Dutch Republic often bore the name of the gunmaker and the gun's city of origin.



Figs. 1b, c, d
Entire rifle and side
details of the butt.



Subsequent scholarship attributes the firearms to the maker who signed it, with the understanding that gunmaking was a collaborative practice. Eduardt, though in the archives primarily recorded as a weapons engraver (*graveerder*), was likely more deeply involved in the gunmaking process.⁴ In addition to decorating the guns with detailed engraving, he also assembled and sold them from his workshop.

Eduardt, as his signature suggests, was of African descent. To date, although both free and unfree labour have been found throughout the artisanal trades, no visual works originating from the hands of seventeenth-century Black makers in the Dutch Republic have been securely attributed in the Rijksmuseum collection. Yet, multicultural societies have always existed in Europe, and especially in the Netherlands. Some immigrants were (anonymously) immortalized by painters and sculptors: the inclusion in paintings of Black figures – often enslaved and trafficked to Europe to become servants – registers their presence in cities in the Dutch Republic and recognizes European entanglements with (and exploitations of) the African continent. Rembrandt's painting *Two African Men* (1661), for example, suggests the artist consulted actual Black individuals residing in his neighbourhood as study models.⁵ Yet such depictions fall short when it comes to representation, limiting the roles of Black Dutch men and women in the visual culture of the Low Countries to attendants and *tronies* seen from a third-person perspective. Recent studies have shown that these newcomers did more than serve as household help, fulfilling a diverse range of roles.⁶ As the Metropolitan Museum of Art's 2023 landmark exhibition *Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez* revealed, a direct

examination of Black artisanal labour – in this case, of an enslaved painter in seventeenth-century Spain – challenges stereotypes and assumptions about the achievements and skills of people of colour within Europe.⁷ Recovering these often fragmentary microhistories reconfigures our assumptions of normativity in seventeenth-century Europe.

The present study builds a world around the artefacts Eduardt himself left behind: though no images of him survive, references in archival records – not to mention, the surviving firearms with his signature – all situate him in a local artisanal community in Utrecht.⁸ Eduardt's intricate, signed guns, as well as their provenances, are a primary source indicating that he held a respected position in Utrecht and found international success as a high-end luxury gunmaker. Together with his guns, the Utrecht Archives allows us to retrace not only his work and career but also his personal life. Eduardt's given name remains the most consistent indication of his identity.

'De Moor,' 'van Angola' and 'van Akaboa' are all alternately used as surnames and toponyms referring to his non-European origin; in some cases, they also likely reflect how others defined him. These types of 'names' or characterizations were usually created in response to a notary's question: 'Where are you from?' Because he adopted multiple names, will consistently refer to him as 'Eduardt' throughout the article. Through a close study of Eduardt's signed flintlock guns and related archival traces, this article reconstructs the life and work of a Black luxury gunmaker in Utrecht and considers how material objects can function as representation for artists otherwise absent from the visual record.



arms and how military units would complain about firearms not being up to standard.¹¹ Soldiers received simple, undecorated muskets. A print from Jacques de Gheyn II's manual on the correct use of the musket, titled *Corte onderrechtinghe op de figuerliicke afbeeldinghe, soo veel aengaet het recht ghebruyck vant Musquet*, shows a soldier pointing one such musket, made of wood and iron (fig. 2). The figure stands with his legs braced, looking forward in concentration and supporting the long barrel of the firearm with a musket rest. Smoke drifts from the strike mechanism, conveying that the weapon has just been fired. De Gheyn's publication, containing illustrations of soldiers firing their muskets, modelled correct usage and reflected the growing importance of firearms in the Dutch Republic.¹²

After many Germanic centres, such as Suhl, were destroyed during the course of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the expertise and infrastructure of a nascent weapons assembly industry in the Netherlands grew to become large-scale arms manufacturing.¹³ Gun production typically took place in small workshops that employed a handful of workers and relied on watermills and windmills for drilling. When replaced by more reliable horse-powered mills in the mid-seventeenth century, this gave rise to larger manufacturers and trading houses capable of supplying weapons in the thousands or tens of thousands. These sometimes purchased the output of smaller workshops and supplied them with raw materials in return.¹⁴ For example, Dutch merchants sourced iron, steel and copper from Sweden, as well as zinc ore (historically called calamine) from Limburg, while exporting finished products to consumers throughout the region. Weapons manufacturing and trade were highly profitable, generating wealth on a scale comparable to that of the Dutch trading companies.

Manufacturing Guns in Seventeenth-Century Utrecht

Firearms were central to building the Dutch Republic.⁹ Already at the end of the sixteenth century, a growing munitions industry in the Netherlands supplied international markets for arms, gunpowder, fuses and other martial needs.¹⁰ The emergent Republic spent much of the next century embroiled in armed conflict. The foundation of their arms industry was laid at the outbreak of the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648), as Dutch forces fought for independence from Spanish rule. Subsequent decades of war fuelled heavy demand for firearms that catalysed an assembly model for the Dutch firearms industry. Mathieu Willemsen has traced approximately 150 notarial documents detailing how regimental commanders ordered fire-

Fig. 2
JACQUES DE GHEYN II,
Soldier firing his
musket, resting on
its fork, in *Corte
onderrechtinghe
op de figuerliicke
afbeeldinghe, soo
veel aengaet het
recht ghebruyck
vant Musquet*,
The Hague,
c. 1597-1607.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. NG-2016-65-55,
purchased with
support of the Johan
Huizinga Fonds/
Rijksmuseum Fonds
and the F.G. Waller-
Fonds.

Dutch gunsmiths' clientele included not only the admiralties, the Dutch East India Company (voc) and the West India Company (wic), they also equipped entire regiments of foreign allies.¹⁵ Between 1625 and 1627, the Danish crown acquired 22,400 muskets in Amsterdam; in 1630, the Amsterdam merchant house Trip facilitated the supply of 50,000 muskets destined for Russia.¹⁶

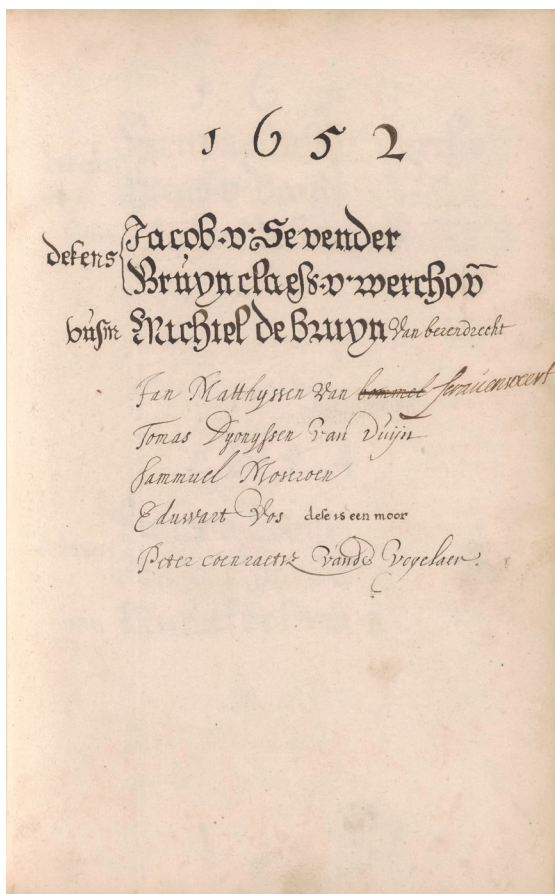
As previously noted, Eduardt worked within a subset of the burgeoning arms industry: luxury firearms production. As the industry grew, makers in some cities began to work exclusively on custom-made guns for high-ranking officers, nobles and princes. Today, high-end weaponry produced in the Dutch Republic remains in extant collections of elite patrons throughout Europe. Some of the high-end guns borne by civilians of the upper class, possibly used for hunting or their own personal protection against highwaymen when travelling, were likely never fired and instead held in collections, where they were valued for their ornate finishes.¹⁷ Following the success of parallel industries in Amsterdam and Maastricht, Utrecht was a centre of the luxury arms industry in Europe by the early seventeenth century.¹⁸

In the Dutch Republic, guilds controlled apprenticeships, quality standards and market access. They also required candidates to complete years of training and pass a master's examination in order to practice their profession. Such guilds oversaw a range of crafts essential to weapon making, including blacksmithing, barrelmaking and woodworking. The firearms industry primarily employed craftsmen from two guilds: carpenters – called 'ladenmakers' – from the Saint Joseph's Guild fitted iron parts into wooden stocks, while smiths – called 'roermakers' – from the Saint Eloy's Guild made barrels and locks.¹⁹ The Saint Joseph's and Saint Eloy's guilds provided structured training, oversaw quality

control and enforced gun safety regulations.²⁰ The difficulty and intricacy of gunmakers' work allowed them to command a high fee, even as apprentices.²¹ In Amsterdam and Utrecht, the guilds' reputation for maintaining high product standards prompted an international demand for Dutch luxury weaponry.²²

Eduardt likely acquired his metal-working skills as an apprentice to Utrecht craftsmen: in Dutch archival documents, he first appears by name as 'Eduwart Vos' when registering as an apprentice in the 1652 goldsmiths' guild book, accompanied by the annotation 'dese is een moor' (this is a moor) (fig. 3).²³ It was possibly in the previous year, 1651, that he first undertook his training with the 'vuurslootmaker' (lock-maker) Henrick Meusen van Strabbeeck, who is known to have contracted 'een

Fig. 3
Apprentices mentioned in the goldsmiths' guild book, 1652. Utrecht Archives, Archieven bewaard bij het stadsbestuur van Utrecht, behorend aan de stad (acc. no. 708), inv. no. 131-1 Leerjongensboek van het Goudsmiden-gilde, 1598-1807, no fol.



jongen die swart is genaemt N.N.’ (a Black youth, name unknown).²⁴ Although unnamed in this specific instance, the guild records in the Utrecht Archives make no mention of any other Black apprentice – or later master craftsman – during this period.

While we know little about his early training, by the sixteen sixties Eduardt was practicing as an established master, producing elite guns in the latest fashions. Before 1650, lockplates were relatively plain; but by mid-century, the development of flintlock plates had led to a demand for more intricate engraved designs. For example, a 1667 gun, attributed to the Utrecht maker Jan Flock, showcases a hunter with his dog traversing a hilly, densely forested landscape with a city in the distance (fig. 4).²⁵ The engraver accommodated the scene to the lockplate’s cartouche, staging the hunter and his dog as if they are chasing the prey into a valley formed by its lower curve. With the lockplate of his 1665 Rijksmuseum gun, Eduardt similarly filled the scene by introducing a hare, a humanoid figure with leafy scrolls spilling from

his lips, and a serpentine curl where the cock attaches to the plate.²⁶ Like Eduardt, other elite Utrecht gunmakers, including Jan Knoop, also prominently signed their guns (fig. 5).²⁷ The densely decorated plate of one of Knoop’s pistols features a winged cupid shooting an arrow, accompanied by a regal figure, likely the god Apollo, standing in a chariot drawn by a lion. Beneath the chariot, one discerns the signature ‘JAN KNOOP UTRECHT’.

The manufacture of a luxury gun called for a collaboration between craftsmen with highly specialized expertise.²⁸ A firearm’s many parts required skilled manufacture and seamless assembly; without accurate shooting barrels, perfectly functioning locks and other intricate mechanics, a gun could backfire, injuring or killing its user. The lockmaker was charged with the task of creating the firing mechanism, forging the plate and fitting the steel mechanical components together. Before the plate hardened, an engraver subsequently added detailed designs to it, often based on pattern books. In the case



Fig. 4

JAN FLOCK, *Flintlock Rifle*, c. 1667, Utrecht. Walnut, steel, brass and horn, length 112.5 cm, detail of the lockplate. Stockholm, Statens Historiska Museer, Livrustkammaren, inv no. 3644. Photo: Wikimedia provided by Livrustkammaren, SHM

of the gun with Knoop's name, the engraving was probably outsourced: the plate bears a second, less visible signature. In addition to mythological figures, a minutely engraved stag can be discerned just below the gun's cock. Because the stag is distinct from the overall decorative programme – much smaller in scale and displaying no relation to the other imagery – scholars have interpreted it as the signature of the engraver. Eduardt's gun bears no such mark. A record dated 15 September

1660, in which he registered as an 'graveerder' (engraver) with the smiths' guild, in fact affirms that he already possessed the expertise to engrave the lockplate himself at this time, and that – with few other 'graveerders' enrolled in the smiths' guild book – he perhaps engraved other Utrecht makers' guns as well.²⁹

The acknowledgement of Eduardt's skill by others is visible throughout his career. In his artisanal community, he worked on a collaborative basis and engaged in various types of metalworking. Another gun from circa 1680, today preserved in the Swedish royal armoury in Stockholm, the Livrustkammer, bears the signature 'EDVARDT DE MOOR' on the lock and the inscription 'P. SOOLINGEN VTRECHT' on the open-work thumbplate, possibly referring to one Pieter van Solingen, a gunmaker from a well-known gunsmithing family (fig. 6). Arne Hoff has posited that Van Solingen, who later went on to become a 'master gunmaker', had previously apprenticed with Eduardt, suggesting the latter was possibly embedded within the



Figs. 5a, b
JAN KNOOP,
Pair of Flintlock
Pistols, 1675-85.
Iron, hardwoods,
length 49.6 cm each
(a), and detail of
the lockplate (b).
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
NG-2002-23-119,
purchased from
the H.L. Visser
Collection, with the
support of the Prins
Bernhard Cultuur-
fonds, the Ministry
of Education, Culture
and Science, the
Ministry of Defence,
the vsofonds, the
BankGiro Lottery
and the Rijksmuseum
Fonds.





Fig. 6

EDUARDT ABRAHAMSZ
DE MOOR and
PIETER SOLINGEN,
Flintlock Rifle,
c. 1680.
Steel, brass and wood,
length 122.4 cm.
Stockholm, Statens
Historiska Museer,
Livrustkammaren,
inv. no. 15498_LRK.
Photo: Jens Mohr

guild's training system.³⁰ At the very least, the fact that both Eduardt and Van Solingen signed the gun confirms that Eduardt completed his commissions in collaboration with others.

Eduardt likely had a workshop where he lived. In 1694, he was contracted to work as a diecutter for the Utrecht Mint, an occupation he was allowed to practice from home.³¹ In this capacity, he temporarily replaced Pieter van Cuijlenborch, the diecutter normally responsible for producing stamps used to mint new coins and medals but now on sick leave. Since Eduardt took over for Van Cuijlenborch officially on 3 July 1694, coins minted in the second half of the year may reflect his work. In 1697, a die used to stamp a 1694 three-guilder coin was recycled, with the '4' in the date updated to a '7', as was common practice with dies deemed still sharp enough to strike clean designs (fig. 7).³² There is no way to confirm that Eduardt himself cut the die, as this could have been done by Pieter prior to his departure. Nevertheless, the fact that the die was still usable suggests it could have been produced later in 1694, and therefore by Eduardt. Perhaps he was already working as an assistant die engraver, given that only someone employed by the Mint or with a well-established reputation would typically have been hired to replace Van Cuijlenborch.

Decoding Eduardt's Names

While Eduardt's guns offer a starting point for recovering the craftsman and his work, reconstructing his personal life requires that we trace his

activity in the archives, beginning with a closer examination of his many names. As is typical of seventeenth-century records, Eduardt is referred to in a number of ways. He is often recorded as 'De Moor,' a surname or characterization commonly given to Black people in this period.³³ Under Moorish rule in Spain, the term 'Moor' became a generic demonym for someone from North Africa, particularly dark-skinned people and Muslims.³⁴ But in Dutch registers, the same word was applied more expansively, with numerous variants: 'Moor', 'moriaan', 'moorinne', 'swart', 'swartin', 'nigri' and 'negro' all singled out people of non-white skin colour and non-European descent.³⁵

Throughout his (archival) life, Eduardt also alternated toponyms – 'van Angola' and 'van Accaboa' – likewise referring to an African origin. 'Van Angola' points to Loango-Angola. Even after the Portuguese reconquered the slave post of Angola in 1648, the WIC continued to enslave humans from this region for the remainder of the seventeenth century.³⁶ Eduardt may have originated from Angola,

Fig. 7

PIETER VAN
CUIJLENBURG OR
EDUARDT ABRAHAMSZ
DE MOOR,
'Driegulden' (three-
guilder coin), 1694
and 1697.
Silver, diam. 42 mm,
31.44 gram.
Amsterdam, De
Nederlandsche Bank,
National Numismatic
Collection, inv. no.
DNB-07887.



but had he been enslaved, 'van Angola' instead possibly refers to the final departure point from which the WIC trafficked him to the Netherlands.

With limited similarities to contemporary geography, the place name 'Acaboa' (alternately 'Accaboa' or 'Akaboa') requires more unpacking. It might possibly refer to: Agua Boa, in Angola; Acuamboe, on the easternmost point along the Gold Coast of Guinea; or perhaps Acaboa, a small village in the present-day state of Falcón, located across from Aruba (under Dutch control since 1636) in the Gulf of Venezuela. Another possibility, however, is that 'Acaboa' has no geographic reference point. Perhaps Eduardt's family had Akan roots (primarily modern-day Ghana and Ivory Coast): the word 'Akwaboah', linked to the concept of helpfulness or assistance, remains a family name in Ghana even today.³⁷ Scholars and native speakers describe the name as invoking the notion of a helper, i.e. one who assists or makes the way easier for others.

However tempting it may be to retrace Eduardt's journey through the many names he adopted or was assigned, apart from the names themselves there is little to corroborate the idea that he was an immigrant. We might instead situate him in the broader context of the voluntary and involuntary immigration that contributed to the racial and cultural multiplicity of early modern Europe.³⁸ Following the Dutch conquest of Portuguese Brazil in 1630, the WIC became increasingly dependent on enslaved labour throughout its colonial network. With the capture of the forts at Luanda and on the island of São Tomé in 1641, Angola became a key hub. WIC captives from West and Central Africa were taken there before being sent to Elmina Castle, the company's headquarters on Guinea's ivory coast. Elmina served as a gathering point not only for trade goods like gold and ivory but also for

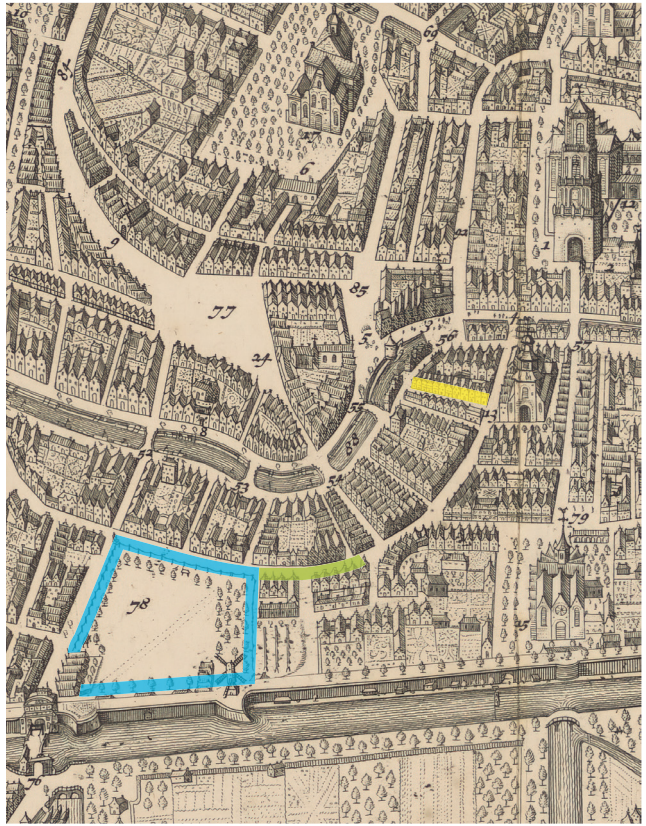
captive peoples, whom Dutch slave traders then transported to Brazil and elsewhere in the Americas and forced into labour.

The commercial know-how of local brokers, middlemen, translators, transporters and sailors was essential to both the survival of the WIC's civilian and military staff and the supply of African goods to consumers in the Americas and Europe.³⁹ The Luso-Hispanic and Dutch worlds were particularly reliant on the craft labour – including skills such as painting, sculpting, smithing, woodworking, printing and illuminating – supplied by the African men and women they bought and sold. Providing enslaved people access to craft training was a form of financial surety for their enslavers, who then were able to sell these artisans for greater value.⁴⁰ In addition, the WIC hired the services of free Africans, not only for commerce and seafaring occupations but also for military purposes. On shore, the company employed locals to load and unload canoes and repair WIC buildings and ships. Over time, an increasing number of African people worked for European trading companies as carpenters, bricklayers and blacksmiths, or as guides and as interpreters for local rulers during 'diplomatic visits'.⁴¹ As in Europe, such trades could be passed down within a family, with multiple generations of an African or Euro-African lineage working as craftspeople for the WIC or serving as cross-cultural interpreters.⁴² Eduardt might have descended from a family of smiths or had opportunities to start learning the craft prior to his becoming an apprentice in Utrecht. Any prior training or familiarity with the craft would have supported his progress through the formal apprenticeship system in the Dutch Republic.

Such international developments likewise drove more people of African descent to travel to Europe. In the

Netherlands, the standing of Afro-Dutch people was legally and socially complex. The conquest and colonization of overseas territories made slavery possible on a massive scale; such enslaved labour fuelled the growth of European capitalism and resource capture in the colonies. In the Dutch Republic, however, slavery did not legally exist. At the end of the Middle Ages, the enslavement of Christians was outlawed by papal decree, relegating serfdom in Western Europe to the past. Within Europe, religious and political conflict triggered widespread displacement and the northward migration of Black people, mainly from the Iberian Peninsula, as part of broader patterns of relocation that included refugees, mercenaries and students who came to the relatively religious tolerant Dutch Republic.⁴³ Fleeing the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, Iberian Jews started settling in Amsterdam in 1600. The Black servants who came with them gave rise to a small Afro-Atlantic maritime community near today's Jodenbree-straat (roughly c. 1625-65), a presence traceable in baptismal and marriage registers, notarial deeds and other civic sources.⁴⁴ By the seventeenth century, people of African descent were present in Dutch cities in noticeable numbers, especially in port and trade centres.

Historians have likewise begun considering the colonial histories of other cities in the Netherlands. Projects such as Utrecht University's *Slavernijen de stad Utrecht* trace the city's social and institutional links to colonial trade and slavery, showing that they remain visible in the city's archives and built environment. By 1650, Utrecht's population totalled approximately 30,000 people, including immigrants from outside Europe. Like other Dutch administrative and trading centres, the city of Utrecht was closely involved in the slave trade and slavery. Many of Utrecht's elite



burghers worked for the WIC or VOC; some owned plantations in the Americas.⁴⁵ Although Utrecht remained less diverse than Amsterdam, the archives also contain non-European newcomers, among them Eduardt. Eduardt's use of 'Vos' as a surname connects him to several other Utrecht citizens. One patronym he occasionally used, 'Abrahamsz', may indicate an association with one Abraham Vos, who in 1648 is documented as having buried an illegitimate child otherwise unrecorded in the archive.⁴⁶ While the unnamed child's burial is the only traceable archival mention of Abraham Vos, the timing and location of the record make it possible that Abraham also fathered Eduardt. However, it was not until 1659/60 that Eduardt registered as a citizen: even if he were Abraham's child, this confirms he

< Fig. 8

JAN VAN VIANEN,
*Map of the City
 of Utrecht*, 1695.
 Etching and engraving,
 484 x 573 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-P-AO-5-14-1.
 Detail showing
 Massegast (yellow),
 Elizabethstraat
 (green) and
 Vredenburg (blue).

could not have been born in Utrecht and was therefore unable to hold citizenship until he had reached the age of at least twenty-five years.⁴⁷ Eduardt could also have been the son, brother or other adoptive family member of Maria 'moorin' van Angola. In 1648, Maria van Angola married Albert Vos of 'Lant van Brunswijck'; together, the couple lived on the Massegast, close to where Van Strabbeeck – Eduardt's (possible) teacher – owned a house on the Elizabethstraat, at the corner of the Vredenburg square (fig. 8).⁴⁸ Vos had been a soldier with the wic, borrowing money to fund his voyage in 1642.⁴⁹ While it is uncertain when Vos returned to the Dutch Republic, he and Maria lived in Utrecht for several years before she died of the plague in 1655.⁵⁰ No archival documents directly link Eduardt to Maria van Angola and Albert Vos, but, alternatively, Eduardt's adoption of the surname 'Vos' may refer to Albert. In addition to using the name 'Vos' in the guild book, Eduardt did so again when registering his son Henric's baptism in 1662.⁵¹ Given the practice of naming children after family members, godparents or other significant ties, the name Eduardt

chose for his son is perhaps connected to two important male figures in his life – his teacher Henrick Meusen van Strabbeeck and family member Albert Vos.

Eduardt remained in Utrecht for the rest of his life. On 6 December 1657, he had married Ida van Voorst, daughter of local Utrecht sculptor and ornament-maker Gerrit Hendricksz van Voorst, in the Anthonius Gasthuis.⁵² As the Van Voorst family lived nearby on the Steenweg, one can easily imagine the couple met in that neighbourhood. Eduardt and Ida initially lived in the Korte Viesteeg (1657/58) before moving to Vredenburg (1662/64), where they raised their family in the Drieharingstraat. After marrying, they officially became members of the Utrecht Reformed Church, where their children were subsequently baptized.⁵³ The couple's first son, Abraham, was born one year after the marriage; at least five more children were born, few of whom survived to adulthood.⁵⁴ Upon his death in 1700, Eduardt – recorded as 'Eduard van Accaboa' – was buried by eight pallbearers, leaving behind his wife, one adult son and his descendants, all of whom took 'Accaboa' as their surname.⁵⁵

Fig. 9
 JAN KNOOP,
*Pair of Flintlock
 Pistols*, c. 1665.
 Iron, hardwood,
 ivory and ebony,
 length 53.2 cm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 NG-2002-23-115,
 purchased from
 the H.L. Visser
 Collection, with
 the support of the
 Prins Bernhard
 Cultuurfonds,
 the Ministry of
 Education, Culture
 and Science, the
 Ministry of Defence,
 the vsbfonds, the
 BankGiro Lottery
 and the Rijksmuseum
 Fonds.





Luxury Guns between Utrecht and Sweden

Eduardt's life was shaped not only by the circulation of people through Dutch networks but also the growing market for Dutch-made goods – and the role of the Dutch in international diplomacy – in Europe. Considered among the best, Dutch firearms were highly valued for their effectiveness and aesthetic quality and therefore in great demand in Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Russia. They were also valued for their cutting-edge technology. Historian N.H. Slokker has found that guns with Jan Knoop's signature and dating from 1655 to 1660 were equipped with updated trigger guards and novel ring sights that could be attached to the barrel and gun breech with a band. Eduardt further developed these innovations, making the trigger guard more ornamental and adjusting the ring sight so that it attached only to the barrel.⁵⁶ Guilds oversaw these developments and protected the international reputation of Dutch firearms.

Although technical knowledge remained at the heart of gunmaking,

a growing penchant for more ornate weaponry also prompted greater artistic finishing.⁵⁷ Ivory and tropical hardwood grips came into vogue, with French fashion popularized by the court of Louis XIV bringing even more elaborate ornamentation. Eduardt's guns required collaboration with other specialists. Each decorative component of a gun relied on specific skills: the assembler contracted woodcarvers for the stocks, silversmiths for the fittings and decoration of the barrels, brass founders for the cast and chiselled brass fittings, and engravers for the incised decoration and signatures on the barrels and locks. Luxury gunmakers also integrated materials that had become available through the Dutch East Indies trade, necessitating that they work with ivory turners, mother-of-pearl carvers and other specialized makers. The primary decorative elements on a flintlock pistol by Jan Knoop are ebony inlays and ivory strips (fig. 9). Because guns of this kind were commissioned by the elite, the work of the most skilled craftsmen in the area was showcased, representing

Figs. 10a, b
EDUARDT ABRAHAMSZ
DE MOOR,
Flintlock Rifle, 1666.
Walnut, silver and
steel, length 155.5 cm,
entire object (a), detail
of the lock-plate (b).
Stockholm, Statens
Historiska Museer,
Skoklosters Slott,
inv. no. 5517_SKO.
Photo: Jens Mohr,
Skokloster Castle/
SHM (CC BY)



Figs. 11a, b
 EDUARDT
 ABRAHAMSZ
 DE MOOR,
Flintlock Rifle, 1666.
 Walnut, silver and
 steel, length 151 cm,
 entire object (a),
 detail of the lock-
 plate (b).
 Stockholm, Statens
 Historiska Museer,
 Skoklosters Slott,
 inv. no. 6191_sko.
 Photo: Jens Mohr,
 Skokloster Castle/
 SHM (CC BY)

the assembled labour of a community of master artisans.

Three of the four surviving guns signed by Eduardt are today held in Swedish collections, with only a few of his extant luxury firearms identified. Nevertheless, we can place his Rijksmuseum gun in the context of these works and the broader political and social circumstances in which they were made. The ongoing political and military conflicts within Europe prompted shifts in power and a growing demand for cultural capital that transcended national borders. In the course of the Thirty Years' War, the Dutch Republic's northern neighbours, Sweden and Denmark, battled for control of the Baltic Sea, with the Swedish army decisively winning the Battle of Fehmarn led by Marshal Carl Gustaf Wrangel with the support of a Dutch fleet in 1644.⁵⁸ Sweden's military and political victories contributed to a period of economic prosperity: between 1650 and 1660, noble Swedish patrons turned to the Dutch Republic, which had already supported its northern neighbour's victories, to acquire elite consumer goods like firearms.

Eduardt's guns exemplified those of Dutch origin that were added to Swedish armouries. Besides the gun in the Livrustkammaren, two of the others are preserved today at Skokloster Castle, Carl Gustaf Wrangel's country estate.⁵⁹ Born into an aristocratic family, Wrangel garnered even greater esteem from his victories in the Thirty Years' War. Promoted to the rank of general major in 1638, he soon amassed enough wealth to build a palace on the shores of Lake Mälaren outside Stockholm.⁶⁰ Like his Rijksmuseum firearm, Eduardt's two guns at Skokloster are rather elaborately engraved. One features a cherub, a woman in contemporary dress, a rabbit and acanthus leaves, with Eduardt's signature weaving among these elements (figs. 10a, b). Behind the cock is a safety catch in the shape of a pelican. The frizzen of the flintlock has a small pearl band in relief, while the lock's interior has a stud in the shape of a writhing snake. The second gun is engraved with a soldier in Roman dress, possibly Mars, unfurling a wide scroll bearing Eduardt's name (figs. 11a, b). From the curve of the cock, a woman gazes

outwards, with two cherubs flanking a pendant with the words 'TOT VTRECHT'. An inset silver sideplate on the obverse of both guns is adorned with mermaids supporting Wrangel's coat of arms as it was in 1653, containing a count's crown.⁶¹ The carved antique warrior and lion mascaron on the walnut stock suggests Eduardt collaborated with a woodworker to further ornament the guns.

Having studied in Leiden before establishing a military career, Wrangel had a personal connection to the Dutch Republic. After returning to Sweden, he maintained access to Dutch information and goods through brokers. These middlemen often dealt in political or economic news, providing political reports or a channel of communication to those in power for elite clients from other countries.⁶² Some brokers, extending their work to meet cultural demands, supplied fashionable clothes, furniture, weapons and other luxury goods to their foreign buyers.⁶³ From 1644 until his death in 1676, Wrangel was in regular contact with Swedish agents in Amsterdam, who provided him with political, diplomatic and economic news, but also goods produced in the Dutch Republic or imported from other parts of continental Europe.⁶⁴ One of Wrangel's primary contacts, Peter Trotzig, was appointed factor, an agent of the Swedish government, in Amsterdam in 1646, where he remained until 1667.⁶⁵ There he procured architectural drawings, furniture, decorative objects, firearms and other luxury goods for the Swedish elite. In 1655, Trotzig wrote Wrangel to report that he had commissioned the two guns from Utrecht 'made by a Moor', as quoted in this article's introduction.⁶⁶ Eduardt's guns, made for and kept at Skokloster Castle, place him at the crossroads of international luxury gunmaking and cultural influence in the seventeenth century.

Legacy

Despite his continuous presence at the economic and cultural centre of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, Eduardt has remained invisible. Like many in his trade, there exists no portrait of this craftsman to draw attention to his history. Moreover, his remarkable, albeit scant, oeuvre has never been the focus of sustained study. Eduardt is only one of many people of African descent – free, enslaved, manumitted or otherwise – whose contributions to global histories have been neglected. Often, Black labour underpinned the economic systems in colonial societies, sustaining organizations like the WIC and fuelling the expanding economy in the Dutch Republic.

Eduardt's labour remains present within the Rijksmuseum, overlooked at the heart of historical Dutch collections. In 2002, the Rijksmuseum acquired an important part of the arms collection of the collector Henk L. Visser.⁶⁷ A director of Sales and Development at the munitions factory NVM 'De Kruithoorn', Visser personally collected more than one thousand seventeenth- and eighteenth-century weapons of European manufacture, including military, hunting, luxury and experimental weapons, with a focus on small arms. Most of the objects are in some way connected to the Netherlands, either manufactured or used in the region. Displayed in the Special Collections galleries, this seminal collection includes Eduardt's gun. The re-examination of these objects from seventeenth-century perspectives allows us to reposition Eduardt and his life and work at the nexus of seventeenth-century Dutch political, social and economic networks.

Naturally, any conclusions drawn from the history of a single person are limited. In many respects, Eduardt's experience is exceptional; as an individual, he leaves a lasting legacy. By tracing his family lineage



Fig. 12
WILLEM CORNELISZ
DUYSTE,
*Anonymous Family
Group with a Black
Man*, c. 1631–50.
Oil on panel,
56.5 x 73.4 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-203.

over five generations, up to the end of the eighteenth century, we can see that his descendants remained in Utrecht, where they adopted the patronym 'Van Akaboa'. Eduardt's second child, Gerardus (Gerrit) Lourens van Acaboa (Accaboa, Akkaboa, Acabea), resided on the same street as his parents, together with his wife, Maria van Alphen.⁶⁸ The couple's son, Laurens, also became a metalworker, finding employment as a 'kopergieter' (brass founder) and completing his masterpiece in 1720. Laurens married the wealthy Catharina Mom, who gave birth to a son subsequently named after the child's great-grandfather, Eduard van Akaboa. Following in his father's (and grandfather's) footsteps, young Eduard went on to become a 'geelgieter' (brass founder), working

mostly for churches in the province of Utrecht.⁶⁹ Eduardt's chandelier and lecterns – signed E:V:AKABOA – can still be seen today in churches in the Dutch towns of De Bilt (1747), Veenendaal (1754), Tienhoven (1758) and Zegveld (1758).⁷⁰ In the twentieth century, historians discovered one of Eduardt's direct descendants: born, raised and living in Amsterdam, Elizabeth Wilhemina van Akaboa was documented as the seventy-eight-year-old widow of a cigar maker in 1979.⁷¹

Finally, a close examination of Eduardt's life also provides insight into the lives of Black individuals fulfilling roles other than that of servant in the early modern Dutch Republic. In the second quarter of the seventeenth century, Willem Cornelisz Duyster painted a family group portrait of a man and wife

posing with their (grand?) children (fig. 12). To the father's right, standing almost in the centre among the other family members, is a Black man. Although long described as a page, the man's dress, and specifically, his fine lace collar is not what one would typically expect for a family servant. Was this person perhaps a member of the family, possibly by marriage? Or was he instead some kind of broker, intermediary, translator or someone associated with the family workshop? While we can read Eduardt's history as a narrative of personal achievement,

equally essential is that emphasis be placed on the community-oriented nature of his life in Utrecht. As a master engraver, Eduardt decorated, assembled and sold works produced by a multitude of craftspeople, on whose partnership he relied to manufacture his guns. Although deeply embedded in the local professional, religious and familial circles of Utrecht, Eduardt's story also reflects the international flows of people and goods that built and sustained the early modern Dutch Republic.

ABSTRACT

Among the many objects held in the Rijksmuseum's H.L. Visser arms collection is a 1665 flintlock hunting gun signed 'Eduardt Abrahams de Moor tot Utrecht'. Archival research reveals that Eduardt was a Black man who succeeded in establishing a career within the luxury gunmaking industry of the city Utrecht. The signature on the Rijksmuseum hunting gun effectively serves as a claim of authorship, indicating the importance of Eduardt's participation in the process of gunmaking, a cooperative endeavour. By examining his firearms as a starting point, this article resituates the understudied craftsman at the intersection of artisanal collaborations, international commerce and the multicultural perspectives on which the early Dutch Republic was built.

NOTES

* We are grateful to Marten Jan Bok for generously sharing his years of research on Eduardt Abrahams de Moor and Andreas Olsson for his expertise on Eduardt's firearms and his astute navigation of the world of firearms research. Many thanks to Janjaap Luijt for his archival assistance and close reading of an earlier draft of this article.

1 'Dhe 2 fjsseer som Ed. H Gr R och Excell.n nådelig [...] på samma sett och maneer giorda sãm dhen första i Utrecht för Hans Exceell.n Herr Baron Swantte Baneer, sãm är en Moor. som den giordt hafuer skall och derom blifua betalt.' Transcription and translation by Andreas Olsson. Täby (Stockholm), Riksarkivet, Skoklostersamlingen (acc. no. E 8503), Correspondence between Peter Trotzig and Carl Gustaf Wrangel, 14 November 1665.

2 Eveline Sint Nicolaas, 'Keuze uit de aanwinsten: De wapenverzameling van H.L. Visser', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 50 (2002), no. 3, pp. 426.

3 The first owner of the Rijksmuseum gun remains unknown.

4 In the archives, Eduardt's profession was usually listed as (weapons) engraver (graveerder, wapengraaveur, graveur en stempelsnijder), yet firearms experts attribute the guns bearing his signature to him in his capacity as gunmaker; see J.B. Kist, J.P. Puype and R.B.F. van der Sloot, *Musket, roer en pistolet: 17e-eeuws wapenhandwerk in de Lage Landen*, London 1974, p. 172; Nico Slokker, 'Ruggengraat van de stad: De betekenis van gilden in Utrecht, 1528-1818', diss. Utrecht (Utrecht University) 2009, pp. 100-101; Jan Piet Puype, *The Visser Collection: Arms of the Netherlands in the Collection of H.L. Visser*, Zwolle 1996, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 150-53; Guus de Vries and Bas J. Martens, *Hartmans' Dutch Gunmakers from the 15th to the 20th century*, Arnhem 2006, p. 316; Arne Hoff (Walter A. Stryker ed.), *Dutch Firearms*, London 1978, pp. 83, 132.

5 Rembrandt, *Two African Men*, 1661, oil on canvas, 77.8 x 64.4 cm, The Hague, The Mauritshuis, inv. no. 685.

6 Elmer Kolfin, 'Reflections on the Black Servant in Seventeenth-Century Dutch

- Art and History', in Harvard University Art Museums, 'De-Centering/Recentering: Forging New Museological and Historical Narratives – Art Museums and the Legacies of Dutch Slave Trade', part 2, online symposium presented 16 April 2021; Shelley Perlove, 'Rembrandt's *Visitation*: The African Woman at the Dawn of Christianity and Colonialism', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 14 (2022), no. 1, <https://doi.org/10.5092/jhna.2022.14.1.3>; Elmer Kolfin, Stephanie Archangel et al. (eds.), *Black in Rembrandt's Time*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rembrandthuis) 2020; Eveline Sint Nicolaas et al. (eds.), *Slavery*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2021; Nicholas R. Jones, Christina H. Lee and Dominique E. Polanco (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Race in Early Modern Artistic, Material, and Visual Production*, New York 2025.
- 7 David Pullins and Vanessa K. Valdés (eds.), *Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez*, exh. cat. New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2023.
 - 8 This article is influenced by projects that reexamine museums and archives, such as Lisa G. Corrin (ed.), *Mining the Museum: An Installation by Fred Wilson*, exh. cat. Baltimore (Maryland Historical Society) 1994; and Deborah Krohn, Peter Miller and Marybeth De Filippis, *Dutch New York, Between East and West: The World of Margrieta van Varick*, New Haven 2009.
 - 9 Puype 1996 (note 4), vol. 1, part 1, p. 18.
 - 10 Sint Nicolaas 2002 (note 2), p. 425.
 - 11 Willemsen dates the height of gun production in Utrecht between 1650 and 1730. See Mathieu Willemsen, 'Dutch Muskets, Aspects of Eighteenth Century Firearms and Gunmaking in the Netherlands', *Arms and Armour* 18 (2021), no. 2, pp. 184–207, esp. p. 185.
 - 12 Gijs van der Ham et al., *80 jaar oorlog*, Amsterdam 2018, p. 162.
 - 13 Kist et al. 1974 (note 4), p. 19.
 - 14 Puype 1996 (note 4), vol. 1, part 1, p. 22.
 - 15 Sint Nicolaas 2002 (note 2), p. 425.
 - 16 Kist et al. 1974 (note 4), p. 33.
 - 17 Puype 1996 (note 4), vol. 1, part 1, p. 24.
 - 18 De Vries and Martens 2006 (note 4), p. 295.
 - 19 Kist et al. 1974 (note 4), p. 35.
 - 20 As their work became more specialized, gunmakers became dissatisfied with their lack of influence in guild management and the requirement to submit an examination piece to guild masters who themselves were not specialized in the craft of gunmaking. Consequently, they aspired to establish their own craft guild. In Amsterdam this was achieved in the year 1672, but in some cities the gunmakers never reached their goal. See Mathieu Willemsen, *Bloedmooi: Vuurwapens van Nederlands Fabriikaat uit de Gouden Eeuw*, Delft 2007, p. 26.
 - 21 Kist et al. 1974 (note 4), p. 35.
 - 22 Kist et al. 1974 (note 4), p. 33.
 - 23 Het Utrechts Archief (henceforth NL-UTHUA), Archieven bewaard bij het stadsbestuur van Utrecht, behorend aan de stad (acc. no. 708), inv. no. 131-1 Leerjongensboek van het Goudsmedengilde, 1598–1807, no fol. (scan no. 52).
 - 24 NL-UTHUA, Archief van het Smedengilde (acc. no. 712-7a, henceforth ASG), inv. no. 85-1 Rekeningen van dekens en busmeester van het Smedengilde, fol. 22r. In the mid-seventeenth century, few Black people settled in Utrecht and even fewer followed the same career path as Eduardt. N.N. is an abbreviation for 'Nomen Nescio,' which is Latin for 'name unknown'.
 - 25 Kist et al. 1974 (note 4), pl. 28–29.
 - 26 Although the exterior decorative elements date to the seventeenth century, the rifle has been modified several times over the years. In the nineteenth century, the gun received a new lock and the barrel and butt were shortened, suggesting the gun remained in use long after its initial making.
 - 27 Kist et al. 1974 (note 4), p. 41, pl. 200–204.
 - 28 Ibid., p. 28.
 - 29 'Eduwart Abrahams graverder zijn gilt gewonnen 7 ½ gul.' NL-UTHUA, ASG, inv. no. 85-1 Rekeningen van dekens en busmeester van het Smedengilde, fol. 54v.
 - 30 Hoff 1978 (note 4), p. 132.
 - 31 'Eduard Abrahamse te mogen overleveren, om deselve in zijn eigenen huijs te mogen gebruijcken.' NL-UTHUA, Staten van Utrecht 1581–1810 (acc. no. 233, henceforth SU), inv. no. 349–45 Resoluties Gedeputeerde Staten, 3 July 1694, fol. 82r.
 - 32 'Gedeputeerde Staten van Utrecht staan Eduard Abrahamsz. van Acaboa toe, om gedurende de ziekte van Pieter van Cuijlenborch, diens werk als stempelsnijder van de Munt waar te nemen.' NL-UTHUA, SU, inv. no. 349–45 Resoluties Gedeputeerde Staten, 3 July 1694, fol. 82r. We are grateful to Jan Pelsdonk, curator of numismatic collections in the history department at the Rijksmuseum, for sharing his research on Eduardt's substitution for Pieter van Cuijlenburg in 1694 and his identification of coins possibly struck with Eduardt's dies.
 - 33 Sint Nicolaas et al. 2021 (note 6), p. 124.
 - 34 Leendert Brouwer, 'Family Name Adoption in the Dutch Colonies at the Abolition of Slavery in the Context

- of National Family Name Legislation: A Reflection on Contemporary Name Change', *Genealogy* 7 (2023), no. 4: 96, <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy7040096>.
- 35 Mark Ponte, "‘Al de swarten die hier ter stede comen’: Een Afro-Atlantische gemeenschap in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam', *TSEG – The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 15 (2019), no. 4, pp. 33-62, esp. p. 41.
 - 36 Johannes M. Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815*, Cambridge 1990, p. 60.
 - 37 Yaw Sekyi-Baidoo, 'The Commemorability Principle in Akan Personal Name Construction', *Genealogy* 8 (2024), no. 2: 48, <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy8020048>.
 - 38 Mark Ponte, 'Black in Amsterdam around 1650', in Kolfin and Archangel 2020 (note 6), pp. 56-61, esp. p. 45; Nancy Jouwe, Matthijs Kuipers and Remco Raben (eds.), *Slavernij en de stad Utrecht*, Zutphen 2021, p. 215.
 - 39 Mathieu Da Costa, for example, was a free Black man who worked as an interpreter for French and Dutch travellers who traversed the Atlantic world in the early sixteen hundreds. See A.J.B. Johnston, 'Mathieu Da Costa and Early Canada: Possibilities and Probabilities', *The National Parks and National Historic Sites of Canada*, Ottawa 2001, p. 1; Filipa Ribeiro Da Silva, *Dutch and Portuguese in Western Africa: Empires, Merchants and the Atlantic System, 1580-1674*, Leiden 2011, p. 130.
 - 40 LuisMendezRodriguez, 'Enslaved Artisanal Labour, in Seventeenth-Century Spain', in Pullins and Valdés (eds.) 2023 (note 7), p. 31.
 - 41 Da Silva 2011 (note 39), pp. 137-38, 141-42.
 - 42 Johnston 2001 (note 39), p. 10.
 - 43 Bram van den Hoven van Genderen and Ronald Rommes, "‘Rijk en talrijk’: Beschouwingen over de omvang van de Utrechtse bevolking tussen circa 1300 en het begin van de 17e eeuw', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* 1995, pp. 53-86, esp. p. 86.
 - 44 Ponte 2020 (note 38), p. 45. Mark Ponte estimates there were between 150 to 200 Black people in Amsterdam in 1650-1700.
 - 45 Jouwe 2021 (note 38), p. 30.
 - 46 'begraven een kint van Abraham Vos, nalatende onechte vader ende moeder, Claes'. NL-UTHUA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: doop- trouw- en begraafregisters (acc. no. 711, henceforth DTB), inv. no. 123, 31 January 1648, p. 160. Thanks to Janjaap Luijt for sharing this source.
 - 47 When Eduardt registered, he paid 12:10 guilders, half the standard tariff, likely because he was married to a citizen; see NL-UTHUA, Archief van het Stadsbestuur van Utrecht (acc. no. 702), inv. no. 1243-83 Rekeningen van den thesaurier 1658/59 and 1659/60, fol. 19v. Thanks to Janjaap Luijt for sharing this archival source.
 - 48 NL-UTHUA, DTB, inv. no. 97 Huwelijksregisters, p. 301 Trouwinschrijving Albert Voss en Maria van Angola, 10 September 1648.
 - 49 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (acc. no. 5075), inv. no. 1318 Notary Hendrik Schaef, deed no. 113023 Transport, 22 August 1642.
 - 50 'Maria Moorin van Angola ende hoge Marssegast door de Aelmoseniers Buerk'. NL-UTHUA, DTB, inv. no. 123 Overlijdens- en begraafregisters, 17 September 1655, p. 729.
 - 51 NL-UTHUA, DTB, inv. no. 5 Doop- en geboorteregisters, p. 426 Henric (Henric soon van Eduwart Vos ende Ida Eduwarts), 12 January 1662. Henric died two months later (overlede kind van Eduwart Vosch); *ibid.*, inv. no. 124, p. 427.
 - 52 NL-UTHUA, DTB, inv. no. 97 Huwelijksregisters, p. 628 Trouwinschrijving Eduart Abraham en Ida van Voorts (Eduart Abraham j.m. uit Angola, Ida van Voorts j.d. van Utrecht beide woonende in de Viesteegh), 6 December 1657. Eduardt's marriage to Ida helps us track him through the archive. Ida is sometimes given the surname 'Eduards' or 'Abrahams' or 'Akaboa'. The use of these shared names allows us to identify him with greater certainty.
 - 53 'Eduwart Vos ende Ida Eduwarts woonende aen Vredenburgh'. Doopinschrijving Henric (see note 51). 'Eduardus Abraham, j.m. uijt in de Catharijnesteegh, Lidmaten'. NL-UTHUA, Kerkeraad van de Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente te Utrecht (acc. no. 746), inv. no. 409 Lidmaatschap, fol. 108, 2 April 1657. Eduardt was involved in Ida's family's affairs as well. In 1662, Eduardt helped his wife's family sell some property, perhaps because Ida's sisters were underage. NL-UTHUA, Notarissen in de stad Utrecht (acc. no. 34-4), inv. no. 343 Notary Fredrick Zwaerdecroon, deed no. 398 Koop en verkoop, 14 April 1662; *ibid.*, Procuratie, 22 July 1662, inv. no. 415 Notary Hermanus Zwaerdecroon, deed no. 5 Procuratie, 22 July 1662.
 - 54 Five other named children followed Abraham, with three unspecified death announcements in 1660, 1670 and 1677. NL-UTHUA, DTB: Doopinschrijving Abraham (Abraham soon v. Eduard Abrahamsz ende Ida van Voorst), 28 October 1658, inv. no. 5, p. 305;

- Doopinschrijving Gerard (Gerard soon van Eduard Vosch de Moor ende Yda van Voorst), 18 March 1660, inv. no. 5, p. 361; Henric (Henric soon van Eduwart Vos ende Ida Eduwarts), 12 January 1662, inv. no. 5, p. 426; Doopinschrijving Henricus (Henricus soon v. Eduard Abrahams ende Yda), 13 February 1663, inv. no. 5, p. 454; Begraafinschrijving N.N. (een kint van Eduard van Angola), 9 March 1663, inv. no. 124, p. 517; Doopinschrijving Adriana Yda (Adriana Yda dochter Eduard Abrahams ende Yda van Voorst), 21 February 1664, inv. no. 5, p. 490; Begraafinschrijving N.N. (een kint van Eduward van Angola), 2 January 1666, inv. no. 125, p. 1; Doopinschrijving Gerardus Lourens (Gerardus Lourens soon van Eduard Abrahams van Acaboa ende Yda van Voorst), 13 September 1668, inv. no. 6, p. 146; Begraafinschrijving N.N. (een kint van Eduward van Angola Moriaen), 28 August 1670, inv. no. 125, p. 447; Begraafinschrijving N.N. (kint van Eduart van Angola), 10 December 1677, inv. no. 126, p. 136.
- 55 NL-UTHUA, DTB, inv. no. 127 Begrafenisboeken, p. 719 Begraafinschrijving Eduard van Accaboa, 27 March 1700. For his descendants, see the present article's section 'Legacy'.
- 56 Slokker 2009 (note 4), p. 100.
- 57 Jouwe 2021 (note 38), p. 434.
- 58 Badeloch Noldus, 'Dealing in Politics and Art: Agents between Amsterdam, Stockholm and Copenhagen', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28 (2003), no. 3/4, pp. 215-25, esp. p. 217.
- 59 Construction took place between 1654 and 1676 but remained ultimately unfinished due to Wrangel's death. The castle now holds Wrangel's library and armoury in its museum collection.
- 60 Badeloch Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste: Relations in Architecture and Culture between the Dutch Republic and the Baltic World in the Seventeenth Century*, Turnhout 2004, p. 141.
- 61 'Flintlock gun', *Statens Historiska Museer*, <https://samlingar.shm.se/object/9C06D911-A379-4D77-9165-D6CC6D7315E2>. Various components of Wrangel's coat of arms changed according to the specific territories he was rewarded and the shifting status thereof, thus indicating a specific year.
- 62 Noldus 2004 (note 60), p. 216.
- 63 Ibid., p. 215.
- 64 These agents were not working exclusively for Wrangel. They also supplied information, for example, to Christina, Queen of Sweden, Magnus De la Gardie, and other Swedish aristocrats; see Noldus 2004 (note 60), pp. 110-11. Perhaps long-existing political and economic contact between Sweden and the Dutch Republic made Amsterdam an appealing base for the Nordic elite. Students from Nordic countries also studied regularly at Dutch universities: between 1630 and 1680, over 800 Swedes enrolled at Dutch universities; see Noldus 2003 (note 58), p. 218.
- 65 Noldus 2004 (note 60), p. 110.
- 66 Correspondence between Peter Trotzig and Carl Gustaf Wrangel (note 1).
- 67 The Rijksmuseum acquired 450 weapons from Visser's collection in 2002 and The Army Museum in Delft acquired the other 650 weapons. After the Second World War, Visser, a director of a weapons manufacturer himself, was able to acquire a massive arms collection, in which unique, early modern Netherlandish weapons were preserved. *Musketten en Pistolen*, an exhibition at the Rijksmuseum in the nineteen seventies, displayed much of his collection. See Sint Nicolaas 2002 (note 2), p. 425.
- 68 NL-UTHUA, DTB, inv. no. 99 Huwelijksregisters, p. 411 'Gerrit van Akkaboa j.m. Maria van Alphen j.d. Get. Eduart van Akkaboa zijn vader, bilst van Willem van Alphen har vader', 26 February 1684.
- 69 Eduard van Akaboa's work can be traced to five village churches, with his earliest work, from 1747, in De Bilt, completed with his stepfather Pieter van Bredie prior to having obtained his master's qualification until 1749. Eduard van Akaboa remained in Utrecht, residing at Lange Lauwerstraat 18 until moving in 1758; see Tim Graas, 'Koperen lezennaars in protestantse kerken: Een onderzoek naar zeventiende- en achttiende-eeuwse geelgieters in Nederland', in idem, *Lood om oud ijzer: Koper, tin en ijzer in Nederlandse kerken*, Soesterberg 1998, pp. 133, 142-43.
- 70 P.H. Damsté, 'Pieter Bredie en Eduard van Akaboa', *Maandblad Oud-Utrecht* 52 (1979), no. 9, pp. 125-28.
- 71 Ibid., p. 128.